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The sale of guhang is the most important source of the cash income of many families in Caticugan. I estimate that about 25 per cent of the families living in Caticugan owned buri palms. Some of these families, however, owned trees that were too young to produce guhang. It is difficult to estimate the average income made by selling guhang from typical buri. Profits depend on many variable factors such as the length of time the sap flows, the quantity obtained, the amount of tan-bark used, the taste of the guhang (said to depend on the age of the tree and the soil), and the amount given to friends.

Nearly all mananguetes agreed that the normal guhang buri produced for two to three months. One mananguete said he remembered a buri that gave sap for nine months but this was extraordinary. The process of obtaining sap "bleeds" the palm to death; after several months the buri is nearly dead and becomes somewhat dangerous to climb.

Profits from a buri producing sap for two to three months were estimated by some to be between \$50 to \$100. These estimates seem somewhat high. One guhang buri in Naga produced sap for five weeks; the gross profit from this palm was \$24, of which \$4 was spent for tan-bark. One buri in Barrio Caticugan flowed for one month netting the owner only \$8 "because so many of my relatives wanted free drinks that I had little to sell."

Through the cooperation of the owner, I was able to keep an account of one guhang-producing buri. This

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palm's sap started to flow April 14 and stopped June 22. The gross income of the owner was \$54 of which \$12 was spent for tan-bark, leaving a net profit of \$42. The money from guhag sales, deposited in a "bamboo bank" (a pole of the house wall), was not counted until the buri died so the figures are probably accurate.

The price of a mature buri in Siaton ranges from \$10 to \$25. In the municipal tax records buri owners are assessed one dollar for each palm. If the mananguete is not the tree's owner, profits are divided in several ways. Sometimes the profits are split 50-50 after the owner has deducted what he considers the buri's value. In another case the mananguete received one-fourth of the profits plus all the free guhag his family could consume. The money from the sale of guhag from this buri was deposited in a bamboo bank kept in the palm. The owner said he did not want to keep the cash in his near-by dwelling "because I might be tempted to gamble with it."

The buri's value is also reflected in the number of disputes that often result concerning its ownership and use. Three court cases occurred during my residence concerning the illegal use of another person's buri. In one case the defendant was accused by the plaintiff of illegally using two of his buris to make guhag and asked \$100 damage. There are many quarrels over buri palms that do not reach the local court. An example of such a quarrel that happened in Naga is given on the next page.

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March and April, tangkong sells for more than when a larger supply of kalamongay and other vegetables are for sale in the marketplace. When the price is high a small bunch of tangkong sells for five centavos (two and a half cents). When other vegetables are available one may buy three bunches of tangkong for that price.

Sometimes people will come to Barrio Caticugan from the poblacion or nearby barrios to buy tangkong. If they pick the vegetable they are given a cheaper price than if they purchase it from the owner. Normally the owners take their tangkong to the poblacion to sell; but three women and one man sold tangkong from their patches in Barrio Caticugan; the male vendor was a bayute. Vendors do not have much trouble selling tangkong, especially during the hot season when most vegetables are scarce. Tangkong is a good source of vitamins B and G and an excellent source of vitamin C; the leaves are said to have a mild purgative effect.⁷⁴

Owners of tangkong patches sometimes let other vendors sell their greens in the poblacion and split the profits. This is done when the woman owning the tangkong cannot take her vegetables to the market. For example, one young mother, with a new baby, was unable to take her tangkong to the poblacion. She made an arrangement with a neighbor to sell her greens; the owner received a net

⁷⁴Brown, op. cit., III, p. 258.

profit of \$1.85 from her tangkong patch for one month (June 16 to July 16). By the middle of July tangkong often became so cheap that she fed much of it to the pigs.

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The woman who had the largest tangkong patch in Barrio Caticugan kept a record of her sales, at my request, for one month (June 16 to July 16). She sold tangkong in the poblacion twenty days in this period, netting \$5.60. During the same period she also sold sixty cents worth of tangkong to persons coming to her patch in the barrio. Her total profit for the month was \$6.20. The previous year the same woman said her profit from the sale of tangkong was more than \$25. In fact, the young woman and her brother, both unmarried, were building a new house; the neighbors said this was largely financed by the woman's tangkong profits.

Eggplant

Eggplants (talong) are another fairly common vegetable grown in Caticugan. Nearly every family has a few eggplants that bear small fruits. Like most vegetables new eggplants are planted at the beginning of the rainy season; the old stalks are trimmed then so they will produce new fruits. Tomatoes (tomatis) are grown but they are very small and are often sold, or eaten, when they are partly green.

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Other vegetables grown are gourds (upo: Logeraria leucantha Linn.); green onions (sibuyas bombay); patola

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to initiate improvements; the lack of these improvements is often given as a justification for defrauding the government.⁴¹

An average bonsod requires considerable capital; consequently many of them are financed through partnerships. The bonsod can be very profitable but it is also a gamble against an errant typhoon, and a gamble that the capital invested will be recovered before the south-west monsoon's arrival. It is also a gamble that large catches will be made on holidays (such as fiestas) when fish bring higher prices.

Table XXXX¹ shows the cost of three bonsods built by different persons in Siaton in 1951. The costs indicated vary; large bamboos of last year's bonsod, destroyed by the monsoon, may be washed ashore and re-used. Some builders use iron anchors (sinipits); others make them locally from wood. If one uses a twine instead of an abaca net the initial investment is larger. For the two bonsods in Table XXXX¹ the cost of a twine and abaca net and a banca are included; these items do not have to be purchased each year. A banca was said to last three or four years, the iron anchors four to five years; and the abaca net seven or eight years. If one

⁴¹Robert Redfield, Tepoztlán: A Mexican Village: A Study of Folk Life. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930, p. 87.

1 [See p. 583, cat. 228 or 435-- Analyst]

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One story was told of a man named Jose who found a bamboo section with no visible holes yet contained black ants. Jose loaned the bamboo to a bonsod owner who promised him all the free fish he could eat. Later Jose was asked by the bonsod owner's brother why he was receiving so much free fish. He explained and the owner's brother scolded Jose "in front of many people." As a result Jose took back his bamboo charm; after this incident the bonsod never caught many fish.

Bonsod Financing and Profits

Various arrangements exist in Siaton for paying bonsod workers and dividing the profits among both workers and partners. One method is to pay the workers wages while building the bonsod and after completion to share with them part of the profits. One bonsod owner shared 10 per cent of the net profits with his helpers. Another bonsod was owned by two partners. Before any division of profits, the cost of constructing the fish corral was deducted. The partner who owned the net received 20 per cent of the net profits; the remainder (80 per cent) was divided in half and shared equally by the two partners (20 per cent each) and their workers (40 per cent among them). Under another arrangement the owner receives two-thirds of the gross sales and his helpers one-third; the cost of the bonsod is not deducted prior to the division of profits. In all cases the bonsod workers are given fish for their families.

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Since many fish corrals are built and operated by partners, books are kept to record the sales in order to divide the profits. It is difficult to obtain details on these figures. When a bonsod owner is "lucky" the fish corral is a profitable investment. One operator said he made \$4,000 from two bonsoda in 1950. Another said he made \$2,000 from one bonsod after deducting construction cost. One fish corral owner showed me his "real figures" that indicated in 1950 his profit from two bonsoda were: December (1949), \$430; January, \$1,463; February, \$708; and March, \$723. By January, 1952, the same owner had made \$1,669 from two bonsoda he operated in the first class zone.

Bonsoda are still a gamble. In some years bonsoda may not return the cost of their construction. This was the case with many fish corrals in 1951. Most of the owners were hoping to retrieve their investments before the corrals were destroyed by the southwest monsoon; then a typhoon came and most of them lost their investments. One owner spent nearly \$1,000 (including the purchase of a new net and boat) to get started in the bonsod business. He had sold only \$100 worth of fish before his fish corral was ruined by the typhoon; the owner sat on the beach and wept unashamed. The 1952 typhoon was an expensive storm for the bonsod operators. Catches had been poor this year; many owners had not regained their investment before the typhoon's arrival. Before the typhoon a profit was improbable for the bonsod operators; May and June are normally poor fishing months.

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When fish corrals are partially destroyed, early in the season, some owners make temporary repairs. Damaged or destroyed banatas, for example, are replaced with coconut fronds. Early destruction or an unprofitable season is harder on the bonsod workers who depend largely on the fish corral for their meat and cash income; many have no land to cultivate. The price of fish is higher when the fish corrals are destroyed or suffer a poor season. Most fresh fish sold in Negros Oriental is obtained from fish corrals.

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Types of Fish Caught in Fish Corrals

Pelagic fish caught most commonly in fish corrals are the "floating" or "surface" species. Umali writes that herring, mackerel, bagays, round scad and bonito are the migratory species frequently caught in fish corrals and other marine fish traps in the Philippines.⁶⁰ In Siaton mackerel is said to be most abundant in April and May, herring in January and February, runner (Elegatis bipinnulatus) from February to May, anchovy from February to March and sardine from December to February. Considerable tuna are caught in the bonsods, particularly the yellowfin and striped varieties.⁶¹ Table XIV¹ gives additional data on the frequency of catches in Siaton fish corrals.

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⁶⁰Umali, op. cit., p. 180.

⁶¹Herbert E. Warfel, Outlook for Development of a Tuna Industry in the Philippines, Research Report 28, Washington, D.C., United States Department of Interior, Government Printing Office, 1950. This publication contains a map showing the distribution of the yellowfin and striped tunas in the Philippines.

1 [see p. 644, cat. 228 -- Analyst]

Sale of Fish Caught in the Bonsods

Most fish caught in the bonsods are sold in Dumaguete because of the higher prices paid in the city. Fish are taken to Dumaguete by the busses that run between Tolong-Dumaguete and Siaton-Dumaguete. The bonsod owner pays fifty cents for each box (about the size of an orange crate) of fish hauled to Dumaguete; a tax of one cent a pound is paid on fish sold in the marketplace. Large fish like tuna are tagged on the tail and sent individually to the city market. When the tagged boxes of fish arrive in Dumaguete marketplace they are taken by the owner's agent (in one case a woman) who receives 10 per cent of the profits.

If a large bonsod catch is made and no busses are available until the next day, Siaton operators may hire a small truck owned by a local resident. Since ice is not available, the fish must be sold quickly or they spoil. The lament of a cafe owner near the Siaton River bridge was that during fishing season busses and trucks rarely stopped at his place because they were usually carrying fish to Dumaguete. The drivers feared a leisurely trip might cause the fish to spoil.⁶²

Marine fish never were plentiful in the poblacion marketplace during my residence--and fresh-water fish were

⁶²According to the Bell Report the Philippine fishing industry needs to be provided with "cold storage transportation to expand the market for fish, and...the development of freezer packers." The Bell Report, op. cit., p. 66.

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more frequently it must be sunned. If not dried the average bobo lasts two or three months, but if properly cared for one lasts five to six months. 228

Bobo prices vary from five to fifteen dollars.

The minata bobo sketched (Plates LIII-LIV)¹ costs ten dollars to build. In some cases the owner furnishes materials to build a bobo and the maker is paid for his labor. Some bobos are purchased from Zamboangita, but most of them are made in Siaton. One fisherman in Malabuhon had eight bobos; he shared one-half of the catch from his traps with the men who surfaced and beached them. Another fisherman furnished the materials to make the bobos; the builders and helpers who cared for the traps (the same group) received one-half of the catch. The record catch for one bobo was said to have sold for \$125. Often a bobo is surfaced with only a few or no fish inside. 228
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Several families living in Barrio Caticugan had bobos sunk off Salag Point. One old man spent several weeks leisurely making a bobo in Barrio Caticugan. However, only a few barriofolk of Caticugan have bobos.

Beliefs Associated with Bobos

The pa-anod already has been described (see Pages 597, 598 and 599)⁷⁰ Some said that if a pig were killed 228

Most associated beliefs described in this chapter are almost identical with beliefs held by fishermen of Tayasan poblacion. The pa-anod in Tayasan is called patiao, although the ceremony is nearly the same; sometimes a patiao is made when a trap's catch is consistently small. Hester R. Jason, "Religious Beliefs in a Filipino Community," Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, Silliman University, 1951, pp. 12-3. Typescript. A term report prepared by an anthropology student of Professor Oration.

1 [See p. 615 ff, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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boat-builders and a nearby sawmill. Large areas, cain-
gins of the past, are covered with cogon grass; corn is
the principal crop. The region is full of stumps and
charred or decaying tree trunks. Many house walls are
made of bark peeled from trees in the nearby forest.

Mangoto is a community of Christian farmers many of whom
have specialized in boat construction.

Arranging for the Purchase of a Boat

It is customary for a Siaton fisherman who wishes
to buy a boat to contact a Tanjay contractor. One boat
contractor, who had been in the business for nearly 30
years, reported there were three "old-timers in Tanjay
besides the newcomers." Usually the buyer tells the
contractor the type of boat desired and what he will
pay. The buyer depends on the contractor to see that ~~the~~
boat is properly built and delivered within the agreed
period.

Some buyers, however, go to the barrio with the
contractor to discuss the boat with the workers and even
to select the tree. Often the buyer pays down one-half
of the price; the remainder of the fee is paid upon
delivery. However, one Siaton informant stated:

This is not often done. Many workers cannot be
trusted. This is why you need a contractor who
will see that the work is done properly and the
workers do not loaf.

When the contractor is paid one-half of the boat's full
price he may share part of this money with his workers.
Other buyers refuse to give either the contractor or the

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workers an advance on an order. One Siaton fisherman paid some workers in this community one-half of the contracted price for a boat that never was delivered.

The contractor usually discusses the order with the workers he plans to employ. As one contractor said; "I talk with them to see if they feel the arrangements I made are reasonable." The contractor receives no fixed percentage for his middleman activities; "what he gets depends upon the generosity of the buyer and the workers." Actually the contractor's bargaining position is excellent; he can contract with another group to build the boat if he does not anticipate a fair share of the profit. The boat-makers in Mangoto are farmers who earn money by building boats during slack periods.

The contractor's percentage appears to vary from 10 to 20 per cent of the total contracted price of a baroto, and from 10 to 15 per cent for a banca. In 1950 one contractor arranged for the construction of more than twenty boats; he received from \$1.75 to \$2.50 on a baroto and from \$10 to \$20 on a banca. Boat prices vary with their size. Before the last war a baroto sold for as little as three dollars whereas a banca brought between \$25 to \$30. Today's prices are inflated. A baroto costs \$10 to \$15 and a banca \$75 to \$200.

Some good-sized boats are built in Mangoto; I saw a large parao being pulled to the Tanjay River. This parao had been built for a Cebu fisherman who stayed in the barrio during its construction. Thirty carabao were

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